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The Character and History of Pelagius' Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul

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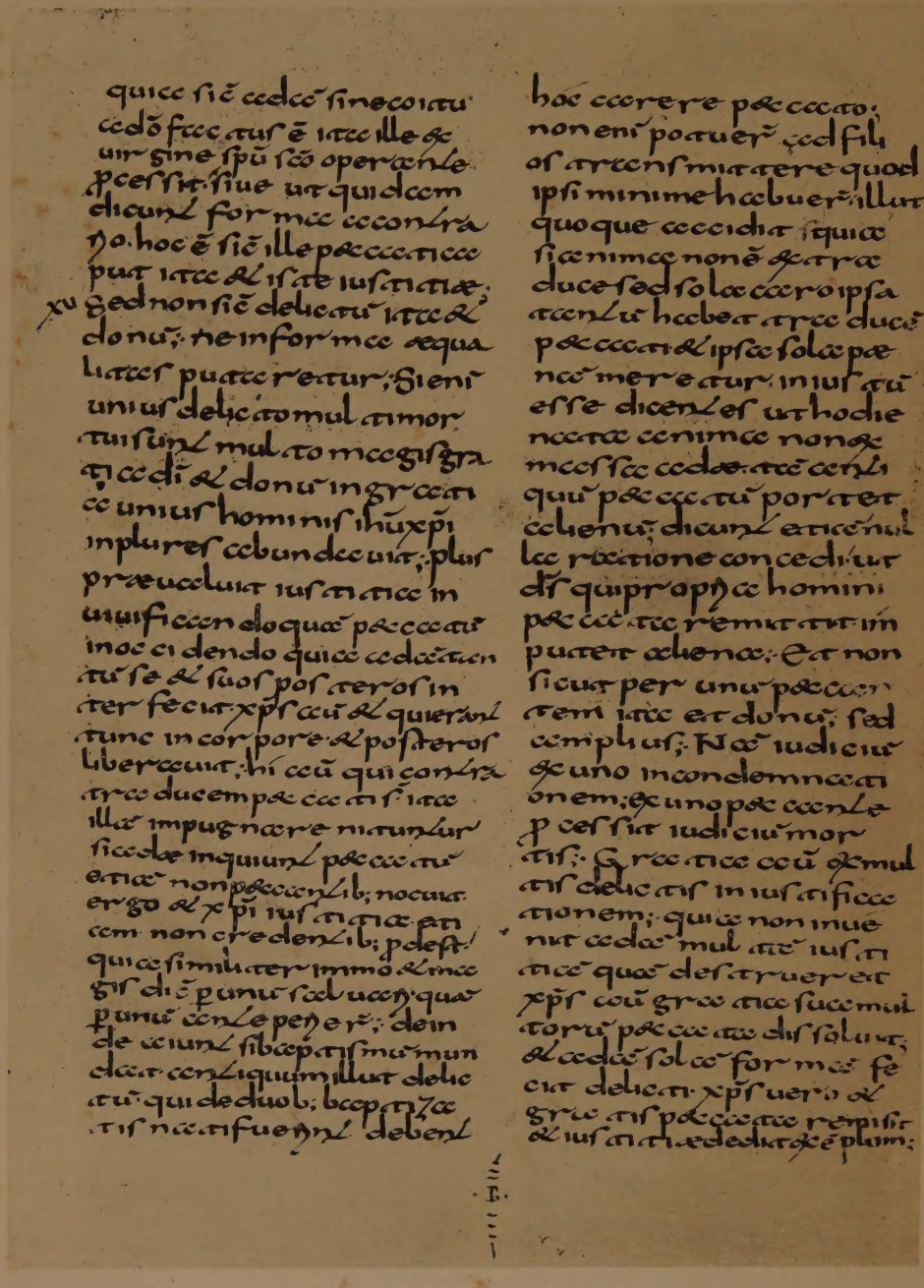

Karlsruhe, Cod. Augiensis (Reichenau) cxix (saec. ix in.), fol. 17 v. (reduced in size) = Anon. in ep. Rom. v. 14–16.

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THE CHARACTER AND HISTORY OF PELAGIUS' COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL

By PROFESSOR A. SOUTER

Read March 15, 1916

Nine years ago, when last I had the honour to address the Academy,[1] I chose as my subject, 'The Commentary of Pelagius on the Epistles of Paul: The Problem of its Restoration'. In that lecture I endeavoured to sketch the history of the attempts to recover the lost commentary of Pelagius, the oldest extant book by a British author, and called attention to the anonymous MS., no. CXIX, of the Reichenau collection in the Grand-Ducal Library at Karlsruhe,[2] which I claimed to be the only known example of the work in its original form. I also argued that it was the Vulgate text of the epistles that was employed by the author as the basis of his commentary, and suggested that this Reichenau MS. might thus be the best surviving authority for that text. It was at the same time my good fortune to prove for the first time that the related commentary, printed under the name of Primasius, was none other than the revision of the Pelagius commentary, which Cassiodorus and his pupils prepared. The lecture dealt also with other matters, which need not now be referred to.

The cordiality with which the paper, when published in the *Proceedings of the Academy*, was received[3] was most encouraging. The leading arguments encountered no sort of opposition. Indeed it

[1] Dec. 12, 1906, the lecture in *Proceedings*, vol. ii, pp. 409–39. I am indebted to Messrs. J. Taylor and R. Weir for their kind revision of the present lecture.

[2] I have to thank Dr. Holder for permission to reproduce a photograph of one page.

[3] Cf. H. T. Andrews in the *British Congregationalist*, March 7, 1907; C. Weyman in *Historisches Jahrbuch*, xxviii (1907), pp. 405 f.; Ad. Jülicher in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, March 30, 1907; Ed. Riggenbach in *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, Feb. 15, 1907; G. Morin in *Revue bénédictine*, Jan. 1910; G. Krüger in *Theologischer Jahresbericht* for 1907 (published Feb. 1909); L. Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Église*, iii (1910), p. 210; Leipoldt in *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* for 1907, p. 107; E. Dentler, in *Theologische Quartalschrift* for 1907, pp. 619 ff.; *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. lxx, April 1910, pp. 186 f.

was not long before the principal argument of all received surprising confirmation from Dr. Mercati's discovery of two sixth-century leaves at the Vatican, representing another copy of the same uninterpolated form of the commentary.[1] The intervening years have brought me fresh proofs of the correctness of the thesis I put forward. In that interval I have, by the confidence and generosity of various public bodies,[2] including the Academy itself, been enabled to undertake eight more research journeys. The work of collation has been long and laborious, but I am happy to say that my collection of materials has been complete since August last. Concurrently with the collection of materials, I have used such time as has been at my disposal for the study of their character and significance, and I now proceed to communicate the more important conclusions to which this study has led me.

The question of the biblical text used by the author as the basis of his commentary is not quite so easy to answer with absolute definiteness as it appeared at first. If we take the evidence of all the MSS. as a whole, that is, not merely that of the Reichenau MS., but that of the other anonymous MSS., the Pseudo-Jerome MSS., and the Cassiodorus text, there can be no doubt that the net result offers a text in harmony with that of Wordsworth and White's minor text of the Vulgate, which is based on what its editors believe to be the best MSS. The Pelagian text thus arrived at is far nearer to the Vulgate than it is to any Old-Latin text of which we have knowledge. Yet every now and again Pelagius is assuredly commenting on a reading which according to the best of our knowledge is not, and cannot be, the Vulgate reading. For example, he clearly omitted the negative in the famous passage Gal. ii. 5, where the Vulgate has it. The annotations, unfortunately, do not often provide us with absolutely sure evidence *for* one reading and *against* another. The commentary was in fact adaptable to more than one class of biblical text, and its brevity and glossarial character rendered it suitable for insertion in copies of the Apostle, which had no necessary sort of relation with the text that lay before Pelagius. The study of passages from the epistles quoted in the course of comments on other passages does not help us much. Few such passages are of any length, and they appear to have been quoted sometimes from memory. No conclusive result can be drawn

[1] *Journal of Theological Studies*, viii (1906–7), pp. 526–36; cf. *Athenaeum* for Feb. 8, 1908, Ed. Riggenbach in *Theologisches Literaturblatt* for Sept. 6, 1907.

[2] Hort Fund at Cambridge; Revision Surplus Fund at Oxford; Magdalen College, Oxford; The Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland.

from them. It is very rarely that Pelagius himself refers to various readings. In Rom. xii. 13 he prefers *necessitatibus*, supported by Fuldensis, to *memoriis*, supported by Amiatinus. In Col. iii. 15, while reading *grati*, he says that some copies have *gratia*. In 1 Cor. x. 22 he comments on *An aemulamur* (or *adulamur*) *dominum?* The variant he mentions as occurring in other manuscripts, *ipsi me zelauerunt in non deo*, has not turned up yet in any biblical Latin manuscript at this point, and is doubtless a reference to the reading of the LXX (and Old-Latin) of Deut. xxxii. 21, from which the Pauline quotation comes. These, with 2 Thess. ii 3 *discessio* (*refuga*), are, I think, all the instances of reference to various readings.

The question of the text used by Pelagius was complicated by the discovery that a fifteenth-century MS. at Balliol,[1] bearing the name of Jerome, but uninterpolated, or almost uninterpolated, offers a text, which can hardly be described as anything but Old-Latin. This MS. is, for the settling of the compass of the commentary, as well as for the actual wording of it, second in importance to the Reichenau MS. alone, and yet its biblical text is widely different. That of the Balliol MS. is closely related to the text provided by the *Book of Armagh*, as is evident from the fact that it shares four of the nine readings Dr. Gwynn marks as unique.[2] Nor can it be denied that there is a number of places where the Reichenau MS. itself agrees with the *Book of Armagh* (even against the Balliol MS.), as Prof. White has kindly pointed out to me. When we remember that this remarkable MS. also contains certain prologues, preceded, and perhaps rightly, by the name of Pelagius as their author, we begin to ask the question whether Pelagius did not after all use an Old-Latin text, closely akin to that provided by it. As I have said, there is hardly any internal evidence in the commentary itself to decide the question whether it was this type of Old-Latin text or the Vulgate which Pelagius chose as his basis. If the Balliol MS. were Italian in ancestry, as well as in script, there would not be much doubt that Pelagius had preferred an Old-Latin text. (The Roman fragments and the interpolation in Ambrosiaster MSS., so far as they go, rather support the Balliol MS.) We should then have to explain the textual character of other witnesses

[1] No. 157 (Arch. E. 5. 2), saec. xv med. Discovery announced in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, xxviii (1913), No. 14, 5 Juli, Sp. 442. I have to thank the Governing Body for sending the MS. to Aberdeen for my use, also for permission to have one page photographed.

[2] *Liber Ardmachanus*: the *Book of Armagh*, edited with Introduction and Appendices by J. Gwynn (Dublin, 1913), pp. ccxx ff. (on p. ccxx for 'iv. 8' read 'iv. 18'). The four passages are Rom. i. 27, xii. 9, 2 Cor. vii. 11, Eph. ii. 5.

as due to the very natural adaptation of our commentary to the Vulgate with its ever-growing importance. This process is much more likely than the alternative supposition that Pelagius himself used the Vulgate, and that in a distant part of the world, where an earlier type of biblical text was in use, the commentary was copied into a *codex* of that kind, which thus gave rise to the form which we find in the Balliol MS., namely Old-Latin biblical text with the commentary of Pelagius appended. And yet it seems possible that this was what happened. The Balliol MS., though written by an Italian scribe about 1450, was, as internal evidence clearly proves, copied direct from a MS. in 'insular', probably Irish, script.[1] This fact brings us closer to the *Book of Armagh*, and suggests that after all the form of biblical text provided in the Balliol MS. is a local, Irish, form. We can readily understand how the Irish, proud of the Italian work of their countryman Pelagius, would adapt it to that type of biblical text which they themselves preferred. The Pauline text of the *Book of Armagh* itself may or may not have been extracted from such a composite text and commentary as the Balliol MS. is. If that be not its origin, then it is an Irish Old-Latin text, brought into partial harmony with the Vulgate.

The question what text of the Pauline epistles Pelagius took as the basis of his commentary is not of merely academic interest. The origin of the Vulgate text of the Pauline epistles itself cannot be discussed without reference to it. For the earliest possible date at which the Vulgate of the Pauline epistles can have been issued is 383, and the date of the Pelagian commentary is 409,[2] only a quarter of a century later. If Pelagius really employed the Vulgate, then, as was pointed out in the earlier lecture,[3] he is, by nearly a century and a half, the earliest continuous and complete[4] witness to it. In view of his importance, I handed over to Drs. Wordsworth and White the text of the Epistle to the Romans and the First Epistle to the Corinthians, as it appears in the Reichenau MS. Their edition of the Epistle to the Romans was published in 1913. I had already, in 1910, in the select apparatus to the Greek New Testament, also published by the Clarendon Press, cited its evidence for all the passages in the Pauline epistles selected by me to illustrate variations of reading. On the basis of what is comprised in these two works, Dom de Bruyne,

[1] As Bp. Gray was in Florence, Ferrara, and Padua, it is natural to conjecture that it was a Bobbio MS. from which our copy was made.

[2] Marius Mercator, *Commonit.* ed. S. Baluze (Paris, 1684), p. 135 (= Migne, *P. L.* xlviii. 83 A), *ante uastationem urbis Romae.*

[3] p. 425 (= 17).

[4] Or rather, almost complete.

the learned Benedictine of Maredsous, has recently published the startling, not to say sensational, view, that Pelagius himself is the author of the Vulgate text of the Epistles of St. Paul.[1] His arguments must now be summarized.

He begins by pointing out that, while there is no doubt whatever that Jerome revised the Gospels, there is room for doubt whether the revision in any real sense extended to the other books of the New Testament. The difficulty as to these has been felt by many critics and explained in various ways. De Bruyne marshals the arguments against the Hieronymian origin of the Vulgate of the Pauline epistles. (1) Augustine enthusiastically adopted Jerome's revision of the Gospels about A.D. 400, and about 420 began to employ Jerome's translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew. But the text of the Pauline epistles used by Augustine remained Old-Latin to the end of his days, and differed equally from the Vulgate and from the text employed by Jerome in his four commentaries. (2) Jerome's revision of the Gospels was sharply criticized from the beginning, but about the revision of the Pauline epistles there is complete silence. (3) Hardly any MSS. of the Vulgate Gospels are without Jerome's preface, and the books of the Vulgate Old Testament are nearly always preceded by their prefaces; but for the Pauline epistles there is no preface by Jerome. (4) We possess a very large number of quotations from the epistles of St. Paul in the writings of Jerome, as well as complete commentaries on four epistles written in 387, but Jerome nowhere quotes according to the Vulgate text. Yet he uses his own Vulgate translation of the Old Testament, for example, in his *Commentary on Jeremiah*,[2] and he uses the Vulgate text of Matthew in his commentary on that Gospel.[3] If he does not comment on the Vulgate of St. Paul, it is because he is not its author. (5) Further, Jerome definitely stigmatizes a number of translations, which are to be found in all the MSS. of the Vulgate. De Bruyne quotes thirteen instances. He also, after Zegers, refers to 1 Cor. vii. 35, where all Old-Latin MSS. leave a portion unrendered. Jerome renders this part in one way, and the Vulgate in a totally different way. Over against these arguments there are the others, borrowed from Professor White, which point to a revision of the whole New

[1] The article, written in May 1914, was privately printed about Aug. 1914, when I was favoured with a copy by the author's kindness. It has since appeared, in a somewhat extended form, in the *Revue biblique* for Oct. 1915 (35 pp.).

[2] This example is my own: cf. S. Reiter's great edition in the Vienna *Corpus*, vol. lix (1913), pp. x ff.

[3] Here, however, the investigations of Dr. C. H. Turner in his *Early Worcester MSS.* (Oxford, 1916), pp. x ff., make one enter a caveat.

Testament by Jerome. Three times, in 392, 398, and 404, Jerome states that he revised the whole. De Bruyne gives reasons for regarding Jerome's statements about his own works with caution, but is willing to concede that Jerome revised the whole New Testament in a superficial way, while he rightly states that this view does not prove that our Vulgate is that revision. There are three passages also which Jerome in his seventeenth letter corrects from the false renderings of the Old-Latin to a form identical or nearly identical with the Vulgate. De Bruyne rightly points out that the new renderings are the only possible renderings of the true Greek text, and that in the Vulgate they need not have been due to Jerome.

He then turns to the fact that the Vulgate is quoted continuously in 409 in Pelagius' commentary, while he adheres to an Old-Latin version of the Gospels. Because Pelagius, he proceeds, comments on the Vulgate, the Vulgate is not later than he. But the negative argument has a positive value, by the process of exclusion. The Vulgate cannot be attributed to any other contemporary of Jerome of whom we have any knowledge. All the early Latin commentators had to take account of variations of text. Pelagius knew Greek well, and he is the very person from whom one would expect a new translation of St. Paul. Further, just as the Vulgate Gospels are nearly always preceded by Jerome's preface, so the Vulgate Epistles of Paul are ordinarily preceded by prolegomena of undoubted Pelagian origin, the *Concordia Epistularum Pauli*, the *Primum quaeritur* and the *Romani ex Iudaeis* prologues. A preface, he says, is the mark of an edition, and a preface common to all the MSS. of the Vulgate ought to be the work of the author of the Vulgate himself. These two prologues bear in a number of Vulgate MSS. the name of Pelagius.[1] The copyists would never have invented it. Moreover these prefaces are in MSS. of the Pelagian commentary also. They would therefore appear to have some relation with the celebrated heretic. The presence of the Pelagian prefaces in MSS. of the Vulgate at least proves that there was *a* Pelagian edition of the Pauline epistles.

So far, I think, I should be prepared to follow De Bruyne entirely, were it not for one or two slight facts, the significance of one of which I should not have understood without the aid of an observation of Professor Burkitt. Some years ago[2] he pointed out that the word *porro* is never found in Old-Latin documents. The concordance shows that it occurs with very great frequency in the Vulgate Old Testament.

[1] See p. 9 for four MSS. unknown to De Bruyne.

[2] *Journal of Theological Studies*, xi (1909–10), pp. 262 f. See now also S. Reiter's Hieronymus *In Hieremiam* (C. S. E. L. lix), p. 555.

It appears three times in the Vulgate Gospels, and once only in the Vulgate Epistles (1 Cor. vii. 35). Now, who put it there, if not Jerome? Yet it occurs in the Pauline text of the Reichenau MS. of Pelagius at that point.[1] Further, if Pelagius be the author of the Reichenau type of text, why does he admit *quoniam* after verbs of saying, in the sense *that*, while he invariably employs the more cultivated *quod* or *quia* in the commentary?

The remainder of De Bruyne's remarkable paper is occupied with the suggestion that the Pelagian Vulgate passed through three editions before it became the Vulgate of the Church. This part of his investigation, though exceedingly ingenious, seems to me to suffer from insufficient information about the evolution of the Pelagian commentary itself. It is written too exclusively from the point of view of one whose main concern has lain with the prologues and the texts of biblical MSS. Mine may similarly suffer from the fact that I have paid too exclusive attention to the Pelagius commentary and its adaptations. I welcome his opinion that Pelagius, though he regarded the Epistle to the Hebrews as Pauline, did not regard it as canonical, and therefore did not write a commentary on it. His view of each edition I will first summarize briefly, and then state what I believe to be the objections to it.

The first edition excluded the Epistle to the Hebrews as uncanonical, and its point of view is identical with that of the Pelagian *Concordia*. The order of the epistles in this edition was as in our Bibles. The author of the *Concordia* was probably Pelagius himself. The edition was equipped with the prologues beginning respectively with the words *Omnis textus* and *Epistulae Pauli ad Romanos causa haec est*. De Bruyne recognizes the difficulty involved in the absence of both these prologues, as well as the *Concordia*, from the Reichenau MS. of Pelagius' commentary. There are exactly the same difficulties as regards the Balliol MS., of which he had no knowledge when writing his article. His solution is that the Pauline text occupied the middle of the page, and that the glossarial notes of Pelagius were inserted in the vacant places. Copyists of the text sometimes included the prologues, but the Reichenau copyist did not. Nor, so far as De Bruyne is aware, did any other copyist of the commentary in any form.

It is true that Pelagius himself did not write a commentary on Hebrews. There is none in the Reichenau MS. or the Balliol MS., or one of the two families of Pseudo-Jerome MSS., or the archetype

[1] The authorities are divided: for *porro* cod. Aug., Ps.-Hier., Cassiod.; for omission Ball., S.G. 73, Par. 653.

of Cassiodorus. And if MS. 653 of Paris, MS. 73 of St. Gall, and the other family of Pseudo-Jerome MSS. do each contain a commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, it must be pointed out that the commentary varies seriously in all three cases. The inference is clear. The *Concordia* in its shorter well-known form is absent from all MSS. whatever that preserve any form of the Pelagian commentary. In its longer form, however, which Vezzosi found in a biblical MS. of Murbach,[1] and in it alone—a MS. which has been rediscovered by De Bruyne at Gotha[2]—, two MSS. representing one branch of one family of the Pseudo-Jerome MSS. give it. This is clearly a local mediaeval expansion of the shorter form, originating perhaps at Murbach itself, and not later than the eighth century. The author of the *Concordia* in its original form was doubtless a Pelagian, but not necessarily Pelagius himself. One family of Pseudo-Jerome MSS. does give the *Omnis textus* and *Epistulae ad Romanos causa* prologues, in addition to the others. The Reichenau and Balliol MSS., however, agree in giving the *Primum quaeritur* and the *Romani sunt qui ex Iudaeis gentibusque* prologues, which have thus the better claim to belong to the original edition. There is also no doubt whatever as to the order in which Pelagius' copy gave the epistles, and it was *not* the order in which they occur in our Bibles. It is certain, from the Reichenau and Balliol MSS., Paris 653, one of the two families of Pseudo-Jerome MSS., Cassiodorus and Sedulius Scottus, that the Epistles to the Thessalonians followed immediately on the Epistle to the Philippians in the copy used by Pelagius. Some fifty MSS. of the Vulgate at least are also known to have this order.[3] Nor, I think, is De Bruyne right about the arrangement of the Pelagian commentary. The arrangement in the Reichenau MS., as well as that of the sixth-century Roman fragments, and that, throughout the greater part at least, of the Balliol MS., not to speak of any other authorities meantime, favours the view that the plan adopted throughout the commentary was to give first a short piece of Scripture and then a short piece of annotation. Pelagius' own use of the word *subnotare*, with reference to his notes, in a passage not yet printed in its correct form,[4] points to the same conclusion.

The second edition of the Vulgate Pauline epistles envisaged by

[1] *Card. Thomasii Opera* (Romae, 1747), pp. 489–95 ; cf. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 209, Wordsworth and White's *Romans*, p. 12.

[2] Gotha, membr. i 20, fol. 217 : see *Revue biblique*, 2e série, v (1908), pp. 75–83. I recollated the *Concordia* in 1913.

[3] Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 341.

[4] In Col. iii. 19, *sicut ad Ephesios plenius subnotatum est.*

De Bruyne had at the beginning the two prologues, *Primum quaeritur* and *Romani ex Iudaeis gentibusque*, which we have found reason to regard as part of the first edition. According to him, the first of these cannot be the work of Pelagius. The fact that it contains a defence of the Epistle to the Hebrews is taken by him as proof that it was written by the reviser who added a copy of Hebrews to the Vulgate Pauline epistles, probably before A.D. 450. This reviser also, he thinks, gave out the *Primum quaeritur* prologue under the name of Pelagius himself. Certainly it is found with his name attached in a certain number of biblical MSS. Zimmer called attention to three of Irish origin,[1] De Bruyne adds three of Italian origin,[2] and from the masterly catalogues of Dr. James I am able to add four of English origin.[3] In this second edition the *Concordia* and *capitula* remained. *Hebrews* was placed last, and equipped with the *In primis dicendum est cur* prologue, which he says is by the same author as wrote the *Primum quaeritur*. (It is interesting to note that this *In primis* prologue occurs in one family of Pseudo-Jerome MSS.) This edition contained *Thessalonians, Colossians* in this order, though De Bruyne admits that he cannot understand why. It contained a commentary like the first, and had some notes on the Epistle to the Hebrews also. This editor also retouched the text of the Pauline epistles, as given by Pelagius, and deserves to be called Pseudo-Pelagius.

The third edition, as conceived by De Bruyne, was a slight revision of the biblical text of Pelagius and Pseudo-Pelagius. With regard to it he feels compelled to speak hesitatingly, because the requisite materials for a judgement are not yet accessible. He distrusts on occasion the biblical text in the Reichenau MS., and this he has a perfect right to do. Perhaps in half the number of passages to which he objects its text is really wrong. In preparing the text of Pelagius for the press, a task which has reached the middle of *Ephesians*, I have had occasionally to desert the Reichenau MS. De Bruyne also is not entirely satisfied with the Vulgate text as printed by Wordsworth and White, and he recognizes that very little is known of the Pseudo-Jerome text. His third edition had the same prefatory material as his second, and it had also the Epistle to the Hebrews, but the

[1] Zimmer, *Pelagius in Irland*, pp. 25 ff.

[2] De Bruyne, p. 26 of the offprint of article (in his n. 1, read '328' for '238').

[3] Corpus Christi Coll., Camb., 48 E. 3 (collated by me in 1913); St. John's Coll., Camb. 183 (G. 15); Eton College, 26 Bk. 3, 2; Dublin, Trinity College, A. 2, [illegible] (51, Abbott) (the last kindly copied for me by Mr. John Fraser in 1914). All these MSS. seem to have a connexion with St. Albans at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century.

exegetical notes of Pelagius disappeared for ever. The date and place of origin of the edition, as well as the name of the author, are unknown, but the date would appear to be not much later than 450. It was this edition which became the Vulgate of the Church. Towards the end of his profoundly interesting article De Bruyne gives a list of passages from the Epistle to the Romans, where Pelagius' text in the Reichenau MS. differs from the Vulgate. These passages are all taken, of course with full acknowledgement, from the materials which I have collected.

The list contains altogether forty-four passages.[1] Before deciding whether the Reichenau MS. is right in these places, it is advisable to compare with its readings the readings of the other authorities. These, in order of value, are the Balliol MS., Paris 653, St. Gall 73, Pseudo-Jerome MSS., and Cassiodorus. Out of the forty-four places there is only one where the Reichenau MS. stands alone, unsupported by any of these, and that is the reading *illum* in Rom. iv. 23, where all other authorities read, with the Vulgate, *ipsum*. In twenty-nine of the remaining forty-three places the Reichenau MS. is supported by the Balliol MS., and in some other cases the variation is slight and trifling. In twenty-five places it has the support of Paris 653, in fourteen the support of St. Gall 73, which for three places is wanting, in twenty the support of Pseudo-Jerome MSS., usually of both families, and in fifteen the support of Cassiodorus. It is interesting to note that the MSS. are nearly always divided between two readings; that is, there is rarely, in fact only seven times, a third reading in any of our authorities. This fact would suggest that the Pelagian text was subjected to one revision only, and that De Bruyne is wrong in postulating *three* editions. Of course, if the Balliol MS. be regarded as representing Pelagius' real text, then we shall have three, but not the three De Bruyne has suggested. There are one or two Vulgate readings in the forty-four passages which obtain absolutely no support from any Pelagian MS. What would seem then to have occurred, if we assume that the Reichenau MS. on the whole represents the text used by Pelagius, is that at some early date the Pelagian text, combined with an interpolated form of commentary, was brought into yet closer harmony with what we understand by the Vulgate. On the whole the authorities divide themselves into two classes, (*a*) Reichenau MS., Balliol MS., and Paris 653, less closely Vulgate than (*b*) St. Gall 73 and Pseudo-Jerome MSS. The Cassiodorus text is not constant in its character. For Rom. i it goes with the Reichenau MS.

[1] Actually forty-five, but the last (xv. 22) is due to my repetition of an old mistake, and is therefore omitted from the numeration here.

against the Vulgate, but later it is generally found on the other side. The difficulty of this investigation must be insisted on as well as the possibility that, when the text is examined for all the epistles, a revision of judgement may be necessary.

Augiensis.	*Vulgate.*
Rom. i. 1.	
iesu christi Aug. Ball. 653. Ps-Hier. Cassiod.	christi iesu 73. D.[1]
i. 3.	
factus est Aug. 653. Ps-Hier. Cassiod.	factus est ei Ball. 73. D.
i. 13.	
non enim arbitror Aug. Ball. non autem arbitror 653.	nolo autem D. nolo enim 73. Ps-Hier. Cassiod.
i. 20.	
et diuinitas Aug. Ball. 653. 73. Ps-Hier. Cassiod. D.	ac diuinitas
i. 25.	
in mendacium Aug. 653. 73. (½). Ps-Hier. Cassiod. ½. D.	in mendacio Ball. 73. (½). Cassiod. ½.
i. 28.	
in notitia Aug. 73. (½). Cassiod. eos Aug. 653. Ps-Hier. Cassiod.	in notitiam Ball. 653. 73. (½). Ps-Hier. D. illos Ball. 73. D.
i. 31.	
om. absque foedere Aug. Ball. Cassiod. (?).	*hab.* absque foedere 653. 73. Ps-Hier. *hab.* absque honore Cassiod.
i. 32.	
solum qui Aug. Ball. 653. 73. Ps-H^{i} r. Cassiod. D. et qui Aug. Ball. 653. 73. Ps-Hier. Cassiod.	solum et D.
ii. 1.	
agis quae Aug. 73. Ps-Hier. Cassiod.	agis qui Ball. 653. D.
ii. 3.	
homo omnis Ball. 73. Ps-Hier. ½. Cassiod. (D). quoniam Aug. Ps-Hier. ½. D.	homo Aug. 653. Ps-Hier. ½. quia Ball. 653. 73. Ps-Hier. ½. Cassiod.

[1] D = *Book of Armagh.*

Augiensis.	*Vulgate.*
Rom. ii. 8.	
diffidunt Aug. 653.	non adquiescunt Ball. 73. Ps-Hier. Cassiod.
D neither.	
ii. 29.[1]	
iudaeus est Aug. Ball. Ps-Hier (*Mon.*). Cassiod. ½. D.	iudaeus (*only*) 653. Ps-Hier. Cassiod. ½
qui spiritu Aug. 653. D.	in spiritu Ball. Ps-Hier. Cassiod.
iii. 9.	
tenemus amplius Aug. Ball. 653. (D).	praecellimus eos nequaquam Ps-Hier. Cassiod.
iii. 20.	
non. iust. ex op. legis Aug. 653. n. i. o. c. ex op. l. Ball. D. (-atur).	ex op. legis non iust. 73. Ps-Hier. Cassiod.
iii. 25.	
propitiatorem Aug. Ball. 653. 73. D. fidei Aug. Ball. 653. 73. D. propositum Aug. Ball. 653. D.	propitiationem Ps-Hier. Cassiod. per fidem Ps-Hier. Cassiod. remissionem 73. Ps-Hier. Cassiod.
iii. 26.	
Iesu Christi Aug. Ball. 73. D.	Iesu 653. Ps-Hier. Cassiod.
iv. 5.	
iustitiam secundum propositum dei Aug. iustitiam secundum propositum gratiae dei Ball. 653. Ps-Hier. Cassiod. ½. D. iustitiam secundum propositum dei gratiae 73.	iustitiam Cassiod. ½.
iv. 10.	
in circumcisione cum esset Aug. Ball. 73.	in circumcisione (1°) 653. Ps-Hier. Cassiod. D.
iv. 17.	
uocat ea quae Ball. 73. Ps-Hier. ½. Cassiod. ½. D.	uocat quae Aug. 653. Ps-Hier. ½. Cassiod. ½.
iv. 19.	
non considerauit Aug. Ball. 653. 73. Ps-Hier. D. nec considerauit Cassiod. ½.	considerauit Cassiod. ½.

[1] St. Gall 73 is wanting for ii. 29, iii. 9.

Augiensis.	*Vulgate.*
Rom. iv. 23.	
illum Aug.	ipsum Ball. 653. 73. Ps-Hier. Cassiod. D.
v. 2.	
fidei Aug. Cassiod.	fide 653.
per fidem Ball. 73. Ps-Hier. D.	
gratia ista Aug. 73. Ps-Hier. ½.	gratiam istam (Ball.). 653. Ps-Hier. ½. Cassiod. D.
v. 17.	
unius Aug. Ball. 653. 73. Ps-Hier. Cassiod. D neither.	in unius
v. 21.	
in mortem Aug. Ball. Ps-Hier. ½. Cassiod. D. Ps-Hier. ½. *wanting.*	in morte 653. 73.
vi. 8.	
cum illo Aug. Ball. 73. D.	cum Christo (2°) 653. Ps-Hier. Cassiod.
vi. 15.	
peccabimus Aug. Ball. Ps-Hier. ¼. Cassiod. D.	peccauimus 653. 73. Ps-Hier. ¾.
vi. 16.	
iustitiae Aug. Ball. 653. D.	ad iustitiam 73. Ps-Hier. Cassiod.
viii. 2.	
te Aug. Ball. 653. D.	me 73. Ps-Hier. Cassiod.
ix. 23.	
et ut Aug. Ball. 653.	ut 73. Ps-Hier. Cassiod. D.
ix. 31.	
in legem Aug. Ball.	in legem iustitiae 653. 73. Ps-Hier. Cassiod. D.
x. 5.	
iust. quae ex lege est quoniam Aug. Ball. D.	quoniam iust. quae ex lege est 73. Ps-Hier. Cassiod.
iust. quae ex lege est 653.	
fecerit ea Aug. Ball. 653. D.	fecerit 73. Ps-Hier. Cassiod.
uiuet in eis Aug. Ball. 653. D.	uiuet in ea 73. Ps-Hier. Cassiod.

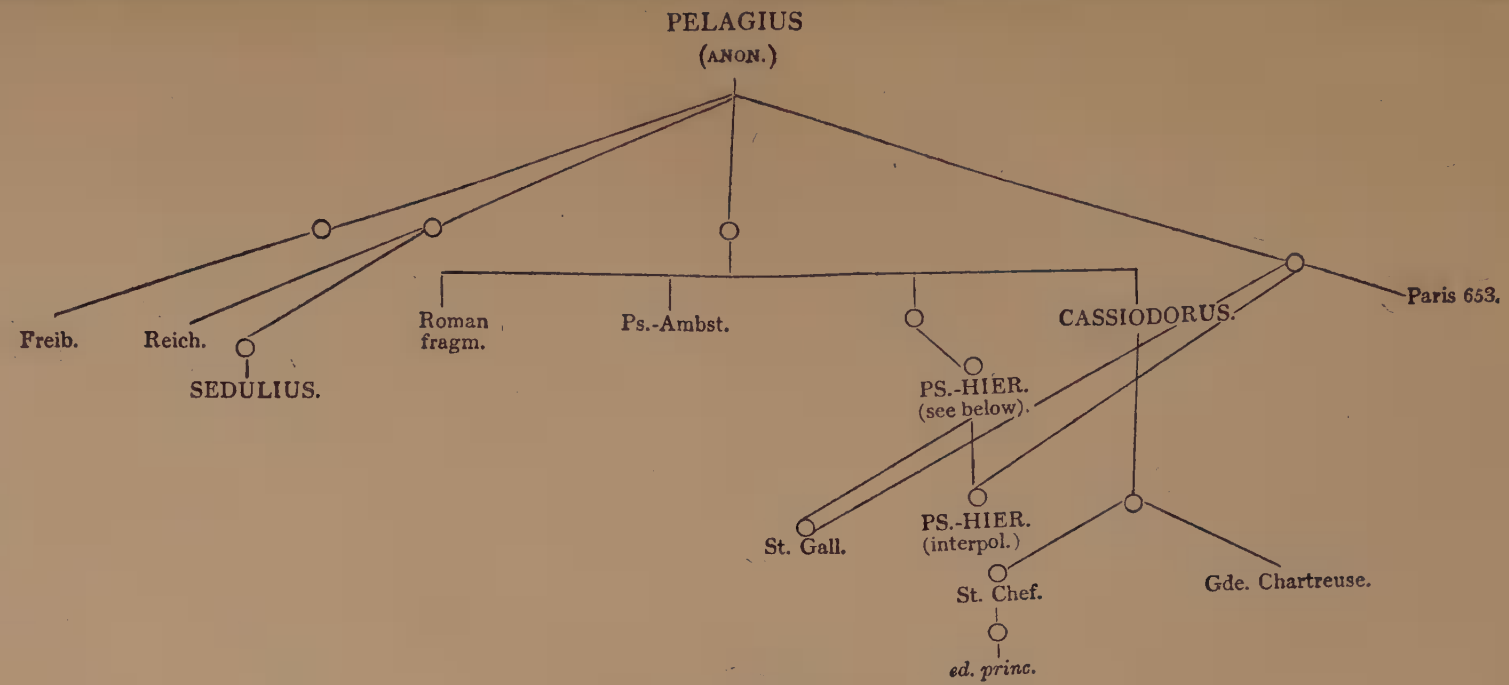
Augiensis.	*Vulgate.*
	Rom. x. 17.
uerbum Aug. Ball.	uerbum Christi 73. Ps-Hier. Cassiod. D.
uerbum dei 653. (Cassiod.).	
	xi. 13.
quamdiu Aug. Ball. 653. Ps-Hier. ½.	quamdiu quidem 73. Ps-Hier. ½. Cassiod. (D).
	xiv. 22.
fidem quam Aug. Ps-Hier. ½. D.	fidem Ball. 653. 73. Ps-Hier. ½. Cassiod.
	xv. 11.
dn̄m omnes gentes Aug. Ball. Ps-Hier. ½. D.	omnes gentes dn̄m 653. 73. Ps-Hier. ½. Cassiod.

We can now pass from the biblical text to the consideration of the commentary itself. Its character was outlined in the previous lecture. The notes are for the most part brief, and are often interwoven with the grammatical structure of the original. The writer is somewhat addicted to a type of note which follows a statement of the Apostle by contradicting an alternative view. Where he is profoundly interested in a topic, he allows himself a longer note; for example, on the life of the sexes (1 Cor. vii. 1–5), baptism (1 Cor. x. 6), the various interpretations of 'heaven' and 'earth' (Eph. i. 10). Further study has added greatly to the list of characteristic expressions which I gave in the last lecture. Among the authorities apparently used are Origen on Romans, as translated by Rufinus,[1] and Ambrosiaster. The mention of the views of others, with whom he disagrees, is introduced by the word *quidam*. There will be considerable difficulty, I fancy, in identifying the *quidam* in every case. Previously I had not realized the extent to which the notes are saturated with biblical language. I can hardly hope to give all the references in my edition. There are more recollections of classical literature than I had fancied at first. In 1 Cor. vii. 1 the definition of *corpus*, 'corpus dicitur omne quod tangitur', comes from Lucretius i. 304 'tangere enim et tangi, nisi corpus, nulla potest res.'[2] In 2 Cor. iv. 2 'uerbo dei *sermonem* uilem admiscent et *per* terram *repentem*' must be a reminiscence of Horace, *Epist.* ii. 1. 250–1 '*sermones* . . . *repentis per* humum'. In 1 Cor. xvi. 13

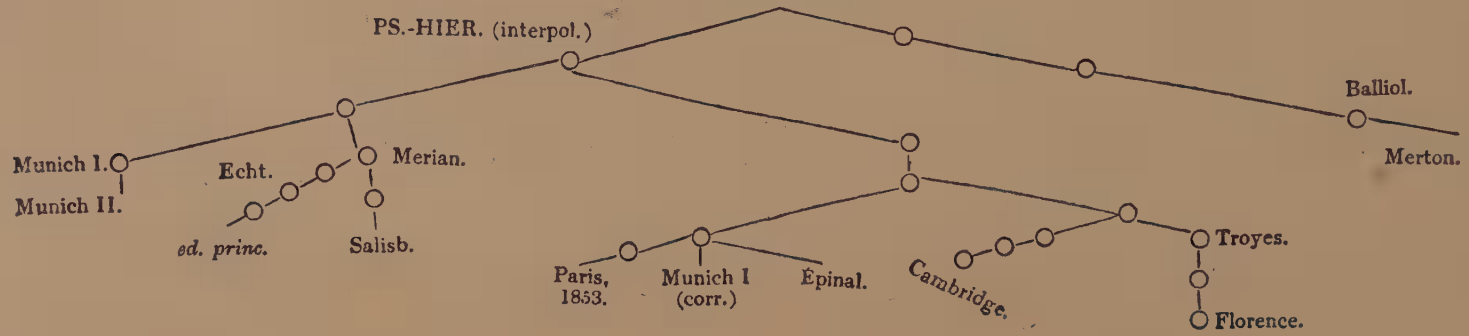
[1] The question of the sources of Pelagius' commentary on Romans has for some time been the subject of an investigation by a former pupil, Mr. Alfred J. Smith. From it I borrow this fact.

[2] This is in one of the few passages which, while present in the Balliol MS., are absent from the Reichenau MS.

TENTATIVE GENEALOGICAL TABLES.



PSEUDO-HIERONYMUS



'muliebris omnis inconstantia et *uarietas* iudicatur' must depend on Virgil, *Aen.* iv. 569–70 '*uarium* et mutabile semper | femina'. (Cf. in 1 Thess. i. 8 and Verg. *Aen.* iv. 174.) In Gal. v. 6 '*praesentem* metuit *poenam*' is all the more likely to come from Juvenal's (i. 142) '*poena* tamen *praesens*', that certain knowledge of Juvenal on Pelagius' part was pointed out in the preceding paper.[1] It would be easy to enlarge on the characteristics of the commentary, but as these can be in great measure appreciated from a reading of the Pseudo-Jerome, and as they will form part of the subject of my edition of Pelagius, I refrain from dealing further with them now, in order to secure more space for what is more novel.

Several years ago Dean Armitage Robinson handed me a short paper which he had drafted in his Cambridge days, with permission to make what use of it I pleased. From it I gained a most valuable suggestion towards the identification of the genuine Pelagius commentary among the various claimants. It will be recollected that Marius Mercator is one of the two contemporaries of Pelagius, who make actual quotations from the commentary. What I had not observed was the real significance of Mercator's words *et post pauca*, where he omits a clause or two of his original.[2] Save at that point he is quoting *in extenso* from Pelagius. Now, if we compare all the forms of the commentary on Rom. v, we shall find his reference suits only the form preserved by the Reichenau MS. and others presently to be mentioned. If we take the Pseudo-Jerome or Paris 653 or S. G. 73, we shall find that *pauca* are omitted in several other places of the long passage Mercator cites, as well as the place where he says *et post pauca*. But if we bring his quotation face to face with the Reichenau form, we see that there and there only, where he makes explicit mention of the fact, are *pauca* indeed omitted.

That the Reichenau form, that is, roughly speaking, the published Pseudo-Jerome *minus* the notes introduced by the word *Item*, represents the original Pelagian commentary, can be proved by several other arguments which it was not possible for me to use at the time of the last lecture. Dr. Mercati's fortunate discovery of two conjugate leaves of a sixth-century half-uncial MS. of the same short form of the commentary has already been referred to.[3] Again, it is well known that in most MSS. of the Ambrosiaster commentary, including the oldest of all, the Monte-Cassino half-uncial MS. of the sixth century,

[1] p. 425 (= 17).
[2] ed. Baluze, p. 135 (last words) = Migne, *P. L.* xlviii. 85 B.
[3] See p. 2.

est sed ꝺ̄ in eos qui sine precepto legem contempsere nature. Qui est forma futuri: siue ideo forma fuit xp̄i: quia sicut adam sine coitu adeo factus est ita ille ex virgine spiritu sancto processit operante. Quidam dicunt forma a contrario hoc est sicut ille peccati caput: ita ꝺ̄ iste iustitiae. Sed non sicut delictum ita ꝺ̄ gratia: ne in forma equalitas putaretur. Si enim unius delicto multi mortui sunt: multomagis gratia dei ꝺ̄ donum in gratia vnius hominis ihesu xp̄i in plures habundauit. Plus preua luit iustitia in iustificando quam peccatum in occidendo: quia adam tantum se ꝺ̄ suos posteros interfecit: xp̄s autem ꝺ̄ qui erant tunc in corpore ꝺ̄ posteros liberauit. Hii autem qui cōtraducem peccati sunt: ita illam impugnare nituntur. Si ade inquiunt peccatum ꝺ̄ non peccantibus nocuit: ergo ꝺ̄ xp̄i iustitia ꝺ̄ non credentibus prodest: quia similiter ymmo ꝺ̄ magis decet per unum saluari qua per unum anteperierant. Deinde aiunt si baptismum mundat antiquum illud delictum: qui de duobus baptizatis nati fuerint debent hoc carere peccato. Non enim potuerunt ad filios trasmittere quod ipsi minime habuerūt Illud quoq; accidit quasi anima non est extraducē: sed sola caro ipsa tantum habeꝫ traducem peccati: ꝺ̄ ipsa sola poenam meretur. Iustum esse dicentes ut hodie nata anima non ex massa adę tam antiquum peccatum portet alienum: dicunt nulla ratione concedi ut deus qui propria peccata remittit aliena imputat: ꝺ̄ non sicut per unum delictum ita ꝺ̄ donum sed amplius. Nam iudicium quidem ex uno in condempnationem ex uno iusto peccante processit iudicium mortis. Gratia autem ex multis delictis in iustificatione: quia non inuenit adā multum iusticiam quam suo exemplo destruere: xp̄s autem gratia sua multorum peccata dissoluit: ꝺ̄ adam solam formam fecit delicti xp̄s uero gratis peccata remisit: ꝺ̄ iusticiae dedit exemplum. Si enim omnibus delicto regnat mors ut ad adam usq; ad moysen multo magis abundantiam gratiae ꝺ̄ donum iusticiae accipientes: in uita regnabimus per unum iesum xp̄m. Quam multa peccata dimisit: ꝺ̄ abundantiam donationis spiritus sancti quia multa sunt dona. Ipsa enim iusticia donatur per baptismum non ex merito possidetur. Igitur sicut per unius delictum in omnes homines incondempnatio-

Oxford, Balliol College, 157 (saec. xv med.), fol. 15r.
(considerably reduced in size) = 'Hier.' in ep. Rom. v. 14–18

a portion of an alien commentary [1] has been introduced to replace the loss of the latter part of the commentary on First Corinthians and the earlier part, with the prologue, of that on Second Corinthians. Not till the Benedictine edition of the works of Ambrose was published, was this interpolation ejected to make way for the original work. The Benedictine editors recognized that the interpolation came from Pseudo-Jerome, but what they were not in a position to show was this, that the interpolation there comes from a MS. of the Reichenau form, not a single one of the special interpolations belonging to the Pseudo-Jerome himself at this point, being found in Ambrosiaster MSS. An early copy of pure Pelagius, perhaps anonymous, was employed not later than about the middle of the sixth century, and perhaps a good deal earlier, to fill up a gap in an Italian MS. of Ambrosiaster.

But there are other arguments even more striking, which compel the same conclusion as to the Reichenau form. In 1913 I discovered two fifteenth-century MSS. which represent the same, or almost the same, form—one at Balliol College [2] and the other at Merton College,[3] Oxford. The latter is undoubtedly a copy of the former, and so can be at once dismissed from our discussion. The Balliol MS., presented by Bishop William Gray of Ely to the college, is a large folio of splendid vellum with broad margins, written in a beautiful Italian hand of the middle of the fifteenth century. The content of that part of the MS. with which we are concerned is practically identical with that of the Reichenau MS. But there are two differences. In the first place, the work is definitely attributed to Jerome, though of Pseudo-Jerome interpolation there is hardly, if at all, a trace, and First and Second Corinthians, which in the Reichenau MS. lack prologues, in this MS. are provided with them, viz. *Corinthii sunt Achaii*, etc. and *Quoniam in prima*, etc. A palaeographical study of the MS. proves that it was copied from an original in insular, probably Irish, script, of good date, perhaps not later than the ninth century. As the text it provides is closely related to that from which the gap in the Ambrosiaster commentary, already mentioned, was supplied, it is permissible to suggest that the original of the insular MS. was an Italian copy.

An exhaustive comparison of the Reichenau text with the Cassiodorus commentary reveals the fact that there is not a single trace of Pseudo-Jerome interpolation in it, except for one or two passages. These passages are present in the Balliol MS., are probably genuine

[1] From 1 Cor. xv. 44 to 2 Cor. i. 5. [2] See above, p. 3, n. 1.

[3] Cod. 26 (B. 3, 4), fol. 74 r. I have to thank Dr. E. A. Loew for some notes on this MS.

Pelagius, and are only accidentally absent from the Reichenau MS. They are far too few to justify the view that their addition represents a different recension of the commentary. Further, not one of them belongs to the class introduced by *Item*.

At the beginning of 1910 Dom Morin published from two MSS., one in the British Museum, and the other at Munich, extracts which are really from the Pelagius commentary, but are attributed in both of these totally independent MSS. to 'John the Deacon'.[1] The identity of this John the Deacon is uncertain, but it is hardly likely that he is different from the compiler of the *Expositum* on the Heptateuch and the *Breuiatio in Psalmos*, which belong to the second half of the sixth century. His compilation on the Epistles of St. Paul, *Breuiarium de Sancto Paulo*, still existed in the Middle Ages in the library of the Benedictine monastery of Blaubeuren in South Germany, as Dr. Paul Lehmann of Munich has discovered from its catalogue, which he printed and showed to Dom Morin.[2] What is important for our immediate purpose is that none of the Pseudo-Jerome interpolations appears in the extracts attributed to John the Deacon. I believe I am right in saying that in the ninth-century compilations of Claudius of Turin, Zmaragdus and Sedulius Scottus, all of whom use Pelagius and Cassiodorus, there is no trace of the Pseudo-Jerome *interpolations*.

It being then established that the original form of Pelagius' commentary was such as the Reichenau and Balliol MSS. offer, we have now to try to give some account of the treatment to which it was subjected after its publication. As a modest and unassuming work, it was issued anonymously. Zimmer proved that in Irish circles it was known under its author's name.[3] Elsewhere it was anonymous or wrongly attributed. The most widely circulated attribution is that to Jerome, and it would be interesting to discover the date and place at which, and the person by whom, this attribution was first made. The quest is beset with difficulty. On the one hand there is the statement of Cassiodorus that he possessed a copy of the epistles of St. Paul, said by some to contain the very brief notes of St. Jerome.[4] There is also the evidence of the Balliol MS. in favour of an attribution of the whole untouched commentary to that Father. It seems

[1] *Revue bénédictine*, xxvii (1910), pp. 113–17. I have found three other passages in the British Museum MS. The two MSS. are British Museum, Harl. 659 (saec. xiii), Munich, Clm. 14500 (saec. ix–x).

[2] Private communication from Dom Morin of June 11, 1914.

[3] Cf. my previous lecture, pp. 415 (= 7) f.

[4] *Institutio*, c. 8.

difficult to believe that such a bare-faced attribution could pass muster. Of the many false attributions of antiquity, none surely is more ridiculous. Were it not for the statement of Cassiodorus, the presence of the name Jerome in the Balliol MS. would be regarded as due to the knowledge of a scribe that the commentary he was copying was practically identical with that which he had seen attributed to Jerome in interpolated copies. As it is, a consideration of all the evidence leads to the conclusion that already in the first half of the sixth century the uncurtailed and uninterpolated commentary of Pelagius bore in some copies the name of Jerome.

The after history of this form is somewhat extraordinary. In every copy except that at Balliol, interpolations have been constantly made, and there has been excision of the incriminating passage in the notes on Romans v. 15. The editor who effected the latter purpose was either anxious to conceal the fraud of which he was guilty, or perhaps he was conscious that the heretical passage could not have been written by Jerome, and in consequence ejected it. After all, a very simple reason for the attribution of the commentary to Jerome may have been the discovery of a copy of the Vulgate, into which the notes were written. But fraud is really suggested by the fact that the interpolator was himself a Pelagian. This fact admits of no manner of doubt. Also, that Pelagian was not Pelagius himself. A close study of his phraseology reveals this, as well as the fact that he appears to have used a different text of *Acts* from Pelagius himself.[1] And yet of course we must remember that interpolations are not confined to the Pseudo-Jerome MSS. They abound also in the two anonymous MSS., Paris 653 and St. Gall 73. Did the anonymous MSS. borrow them from Pseudo-Jerome, or Pseudo-Jerome from the anonymous MSS.? Who can say?

The whole question of the Pseudo-Jerome is beset by the further difficulty that the MSS. divide themselves into two families, which are characterized by serious differences from one another. On the one side, represented by the printed text, are the MSS. Paris 9525, of the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century, formerly of the Abbey, Echternach; Munich 13038, of the beginning of the ninth century, formerly of St. Emmeram of Ratisbon,[2] and Salisbury Cathedral 5,[3] of the first half of the twelfth century. On the other side are

[1] Acts xiii. 2 in Pelag. *in Rom.* i. 1 *elegi*, Ps-Hier. *in Gal.* i. 1 *adsumpsi* (= vg).

[2] A copy of this I found in 1913 in Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. MS., fol. 12, a paper MS. of 1490 and 1491.

[3] I have to thank the Dean and Chapter for their kindness in sending the MS. twice to Aberdeen, the librarian, Rev. Canon Wordsworth, for important

the following MSS.: Paris 1853, of the latter part of the eighth century, possibly written at Murbach; Épinal 6, of the early part of the ninth century, formerly of Moyenmoutier in the Vosges; the ninth-century corrector of the Munich MS. already mentioned; Troyes 486, of the second half of the twelfth century, formerly of Clairvaux; Florence, Laurentian Library, Plut. XV Dext. cod. 1, written towards the close of the twelfth century, and formerly at Santa Croce in the same city; Cambridge, University Library, Ff. 4, 31, written by one W. More in the fifteenth century.[1] The Florence MS. is a copy of a copy of the Troyes MS., and the Cambridge MS., which is related to these two, is of such a character that it may be safely neglected.

The first family is distinguished by the following characteristics. The text opens with the forged letter or prologue to Heliodorus, attributed to Jerome, who had a correspondent of that name.[2] This is clearly a mediaeval production, and somewhat illiterate; there can be little doubt that it is of Celtic origin. After it, the commentary at once begins without further preface. It proceeds without prefaces either to 1 or 2 Corinthians, and ends the latter with the stichometry *Scripta de Macedonia: uersus* DXCI. Galatians is introduced by the prologue *Galatae sunt Greci*, that is, the Marcionite argument.[3] Ephesians begins with the genuine Pelagian prologue, as do Philippians—though here the Munich MS. is somewhat curtailed—1 Thessalonians (in this, the Pelagian order), 2 Thessalonians, Colossians, 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon (in this last case slightly curtailed). There is in this family of MSS. no commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews. The text of the archetype of the family leans in general to that of the Reichenau MS. Interpolations, introduced by *Item*, are not infrequent, especially in the earlier epistles. One form of interpolation, characteristic of this class, betrays it at once, that is, the periodic insertion of a chapter-heading belonging to the sets found in Vulgate MSS., for example, at 2 Cor. v. 15–16. At Rom. v. 14–15, apart from one or two notes introduced by the usual *Item*, there is a short note added on v. 14, while for the long incriminating note on v. 15 there is substituted a short non-committal note.

The Echternach MS. is in Anglo-Saxon script, and has marginal notes, also in an Anglo-Saxon hand, but of the first half of the thirteenth

information, and the Rev. J. F. Shepherd of Aberdeen for helping me with the collation.

[1] Dean Robinson made use of this MS. in the paper above referred to.

[2] Epistles 14 and 60 are addressed to him.

[3] The length of the Pelagian argument was probably the reason why it was rejected here.

century.[1] It was doubtless copied from an earlier MS. in a similar script. The Salisbury MS., though in a Norman hand, was also, as internal evidence shows, copied from an insular MS. hardly likely to be later in date than the ninth century. That these two MSS. are closely related is proved by their possession of the same interesting subscription, which I discovered and published in 1911 from the Echternach MS.[2] The subscription is to the effect that the archetype of our two MSS. was written by a certain Merian of Powys (Wales) in the year after the death of the two (Welsh) kings Solomon and Elisha. He apologizes for the incorrectness of his copy, as he is '*paruo fruitus ingenio*'. It is unfortunate that the authorities on Welsh history cannot tell what date is here referred to.[3] There can be little doubt that it was between A.D. 600 and 800. The Munich MS. does not contain the Merian subscription. It is hard to say whether the scribe of the Munich MS. found it in his *exemplar* and omitted it as devoid of interest, or not. The Salisbury MS. is on the whole the better of the two, and its character shows that the modest Merian was not such an incompetent scribe as the state of the printed Pseudo-Jerome text, especially in 2 Corinthians, would lead us to believe. It is safer, perhaps, to assume that the Munich MS. is not descended from Merian's copy, but from an ancestor of it.

The Munich MS. has this remarkable feature, that while the text as written by the original hand is of the same family as the Echternach and Salisbury MSS., the contemporary reviser, who appears from his handwriting to have been an older man, perhaps the *corrector* of the scriptorium, corrected it carefully throughout according to the text of the other family. He even added at the beginning, on two separate quaternions, much prefatory matter, which is a feature of the second class. The first hand copied the text probably from a MS. in Anglo-Saxon minuscule.

The palaeographical study of these MSS. leads to the conclusion that they go back to a MS. in insular script, whether that MS. be Merian's or not. Behind this archetype in insular script there lies probably an Italian half-uncial MS. of the sixth century.

As I have mentioned, it is to this class that our printed text of

[1] There are photographs of two pages in *New Palaeographical Society*, fasc. viii (1910), Plate 184. The letterpress could be much amplified. The offer of my own detailed notes was accepted, but through some accident they were not sent for.

[2] *Revue celtique*, xxxii (1911), pp. 152 f.

[3] Monsieur J. Loth (*loc. cit.*) suggests that the Elisha is identical with a king of Powys, who lived between 700 and 750.

Pseudo-Jerome belongs. The Pseudo-Jerome was first published[1] in the ninth and last volume of Erasmus's great edition of Jerome's works in 1516. The preface to that volume is signed by Bruno Amorbach. This fact does not prove that he wrote it, for Mr. P. S. Allen has found a MS. copy of that preface in the Basle University Library in the handwriting of Beatus Rhenanus;[2] and yet the style of it strongly suggests that it was written by Erasmus himself.[3] However that may be, the important matter for us to decide is—what was the MS. from which the *editio princeps* was taken? The preface to Erasmus's ninth volume says that this MS. was written in 'Gothic' characters, faded through age, and so difficult to read that they had to be spelt out letter by letter. Traube has shown that by 'Gothic' in such a connexion the humanists meant 'Middle Age, barbarous, and in general difficult to read'.[4]

A collation of the *editio princeps* with the later reprint of Migne revealed two things: first, that the *editio princeps* was much better than the text of Migne, a deterioration in accuracy having taken place in the course of three and a half centuries' reprinting. Being curious to find out at what point this deterioration had especially occurred, I searched, and found that Vallarsi was responsible. It is the custom to praise his edition of Jerome.[5] If he did much for the text of genuine Jerome, he appears to have somewhat compounded for his excellence in that respect by neglect of the works printed in the appendix as spurious. The second discovery made was that the *editio princeps* was closely related to the Echternach MS. already referred to.

The ultimate discovery that it was this very MS. of Echternach which was used by Erasmus could not have been made without the kind help of Mr. P. S. Allen and Dr. Bernoulli. By Mr. Allen I was directed to the Amorbach and other unprinted correspondence in the Basle University Library, and Dr. Bernoulli procured me a transcript[6] of one letter which I had found it almost impossible to read. From a laborious search it resulted that Gregorius Reisch, a noted Carthusian monk of Freiburg im Breisgau, had procured for the use of Erasmus the loan of two MSS. from a library near Trèves, the name

[1] At Basle: the error in the previous lecture, p. 414 (= 6), was due to use of an undated reprint, and was pointed out to me by Dom Wilmart.

[2] *Opus Epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi*, ii (Oxon., 1910), p. 211.

[3] See *op. cit.*, pp. 88 (last lines), 210 ff., 216, ll. 170 ff., etc.

[4] *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, i (München, 1909), p. 25.

[5] See, however, the qualification, in the case of Jerome *in Matt.*, stated by Dr. C. H. Turner, in *Early Worcester MSS.* (Oxford, 1916), p. xv.

[6] By Dr. Carl Roth. The letter is 151 in cod. G. ii. 29; letter 152 is even more important.

of which he did not feel at liberty to state, probably because the loan was secretly granted. One of these MSS. was the celebrated Hieronymian Martyrology of Echternach, now Paris 10837; the other was our Pseudo-Jerome, also of Echternach, now Paris 9525. The latter bears to this day on a fly-leaf in a German hand of the early sixteenth century some words, one of which was clearly shown to me by M. Léon Dorez to be 'friburg'. Some Latin verses, written in a fourteenth-century hand, which he also kindly copied for me, contain a reference to a church at Trèves. It must be remembered that Trèves is only a few miles from Echternach.

The hard words I used of Amorbach in my previous lecture must in consequence of these discoveries be retracted.[1] His work was careful work, and he cannot be held responsible either for the gross errors of the Echternach MS. or the careless reprinting of his successors. The words of the preface as to the illegibility of the MS. are, however, somewhat rhetorical. Even after four more centuries of life, it can still be read by a practised eye without much trouble. To Merian, then, or some other insular scribe is due the fact that the editor of to-day is in a position to make so great an advance on his predecessors.

The characteristics of the second class of Pseudo-Jerome MSS. must now be mentioned. While the archetype of the first class seems to have been constructed by the substitution of a number of Vulgate readings in a copy like the Reichenau MS., the archetype of the second class seems rather to owe its origin to the equipment of a copy of the Vulgate with the notes of Pelagius. There is also, in the interpolated Pseudo-Jerome MSS. of this class, a relationship with a MS. of the Balliol type, corresponding to the relation which subsists between the first class and a MS. of the Reichenau type. This fact comes out clearly in the arrangement of the biblical text and the omission of parts of it in Philippians, Colossians, and 1 and 2 Thessalonians, which this class shares with the Balliol MS. The relationship does not, however, in the least extend to the character of the biblical texts themselves.

This recension has naturally the full equipment of prefatory matter customary in a biblical MS. It begins, in the case of the two oldest MSS. of the class, Paris 1853 and Épinal 6, which are closely related to one another, with the Murbach canons, which are absent from other members of this class. Whether these canons form an integral part of the recension or not, it is difficult, if not impossible, to say. Either they are local, and peculiar to the Murbach region, or they were omitted purposely from the archetype of the other branch of this

[1] p. 426 (= 18).

family, as being of suspicious character. On the whole I prefer the former alternative, especially as the ninth-century Murbach catalogue contains the unique entry *Canones Ieronimi et Pellagii.*[1] Instead of the canons of the older MSS., the others have the *Epistulae ad Romanos causa haec est* argument. Then come in all the MSS., in this order, the *Omnis textus uel numerus*, the *Primum intellegere nos oportet* (a variant beginning of the *Primum quaeritur quare*), the *Romani ex Iudaeis*, the usual list of capitula to the Epistle to the Romans, and the *Romani sunt in partes Italiae: hi fidem habentes.* Then the commentary begins with the remarkable superscription: IN NOMINE $\overline{\text{DI}}$ SVMMI INCIPIT EXPLANATIO $\overline{\text{SCI}}$ HIERONIMI IN QVATTVORDECIM EPISTOLIS (-AS) $\overline{\text{SCI}}$ APOSTOLI PAVLI.[2] After Romans, comes a long argument to 1 Corinthians, beginning *Corinthus metropolis ciuitas Achaiae est*, claimed by De Bruyne[3] for Pelagius, and used also in Claudius of Turin's commentary, then the list of capitula to 1 Corinthians, and then the Marcionite prologue *Corinthii sunt Achaici.* After that comes the commentary on 1 Corinthians. Then in succession we have the list of chapter-headings to 2 Corinthians, Pseudo-Marcionite prologue, commentary. This system is followed with each epistle to the end. In this family Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians are in this, the familiar, order. At the end of Philemon an extract from Jerome, *epist.* xxviii, § 4, is anonymously introduced. The Epistle to the Hebrews is present at the end, introduced like the others, the *In primis dicendum est* prologue being employed, and it is provided with a brief commentary. There are in this family[4] also traces of a stichometry not quite identical with any known to Berger, namely:

1 Cor. DCCCXI
2 Cor. DXCI
Eph. DXCIII
Phil. CCL
2 Thess. CVIII
1 Tim. CCXXX
2 Tim. CLXIIII
Tit. XLII.

[1] No. 39 in the catalogue (of date about 840) published by H. Bloch in *Strassburger Festschrift* u.s.w. (1901), p. 276.

[2] Cf. Metz. MS. 134 *In Christi nomine incipiunt glosae*, Paris MS. 12289 (formerly of Fleury), fol. 82va *In nomine domini incipit tractatus in epistula ad Corinthios Claudii episcopi.* Further examples are given by E. v. Dobschütz, *Decretum Gelasianum* (Leipzig, 1912), p. 16. Cf. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. xv.

[3] *Revue bénédictine*, xxiv (1907), pp. 257 ff.

[4] In the later MSS. not so complete as is given above.

The presence of this stichometry is another sign that the archetype of this family was a Vulgate MS. into which the Pelagian notes, with much additional material, were copied, and, to dispel any lingering doubts on the subject, there is the bewildering confusion in order between text and commentary throughout, which proves that the Pelagian notes were often in the form of interlinear glosses in the archetype. The same false order obtains throughout the three oldest members of the family, but the corrector of the Troyes MS. has studied the matter carefully, and given indications as to the true order, generally obeyed in the Florence MS.

The situation in Rom. v differs in this class of MSS. from that which we found in the other class. Here also the incriminating passage is absent, but there is a further double loss, which serves as a means of classification of authorities. The first loss is that of the words *sicut Adam* (note on Rom. v. 14) down to and including the words *eum cupientibus* (note on Rom. v. 14, last part): the second is that of the words *dimittitur amplius* (note on Rom. v. 21) down to and including the words *iustitiae actionem* (end of the last note on the same verse). The first omission measures rather over nineteen lines in Migne, and the second rather over ten. In the Paris MS., the vellum of which is at this point quite normal, $13\frac{1}{2}$ lines are left blank in the first case, and $11\frac{5}{6}$ in the second. From this we gather that the missing passages were no longer legible in the *exemplar* from which the Paris MS. was copied, and that the scribe left blanks of adequate length, in the hope that he might be able to supply the gaps from another MS. of this work. In this hope he was disappointed. The Épinal MS. wants the same passages, but leaves no gaps, and the only sign there that anything is wrong is in a much later note at the foot of the page, in the second case only, in which the missing words of Scripture are given, but without any comment. The other three MSS. of this family are also without the missing portions, but they have adopted the drastic, and at the same time much more interesting, course of inserting at both places the corresponding portions of the Cassiodorus commentary, not however without marginal notes to the effect that the passages thus inserted were wanting in the *exemplar*. These marginal notes are characteristically absent from the late and degenerate Cambridge MS., which I have refrained from collating except in select passages. Whether it was the learned scribe of the Troyes (Clairvaux) MS. who first made these insertions or not, must remain uncertain.

There are some facts which help us to divine the palaeographical character of the ancestry of this class. The Paris MS. was written by

some twenty scribes, and is of bewilderingly bad orthography, besides being a perfect mine for the student of contractions.[1] Various phenomena in the MS. put it beyond the possibility of doubt that it was copied from an insular *exemplar*,[2] though a totally different one from any behind the other class of Pseudo-Jerome MSS. Of the two closely related MSS., the Paris and the Épinal, neither is a copy of the other. Nor would it seem that they are both direct copies of one lost original. The Épinal MS. is the more accurate of the two. There is some reason to suppose that behind the insular ancestry there lies a Spanish MS. There are Spanish symptoms in the Paris MS., one at least in the Épinal MS., and it is interesting to note, first, that the best biblical MS. known to De Bruyne containing the long prologue to First Corinthians, is of Spanish provenance, and, second, that Claudius of Turin, a Spaniard by birth, uses it for his preface to that epistle.[3] The Troyes MS., though much later than the Paris and Épinal *codices*, is better than either. It represents a purer strain altogether, and has also been most carefully corrected. The result is that its descendant, the Florence MS., is the most learned of all the Pseudo-Jerome MSS. As the Cistercian abbey of Clairvaux had relations with all the world, particularly with the Rhine country and with Spain, the fact may be regarded as another reason for connecting this family of MSS. with Spain. And if with Spain, then probably with Africa, from which Spain appears at one time to have got much of its Christian literature.

As the chief characteristic of the Pseudo-Jerome MSS. is additional (not contradictory) explanations, introduced by *Item*, a critical study of these, in a purer text than is at present available in print, is the necessary preliminary to an investigation into their origin. The Pseudo-Jerome of the second family is substantially longer than that of the first family, and contains from Galatians onwards a number of *Item* and other passages, some of them of considerable length, which are entirely absent from the first family. Some of these have never been printed, but the majority will be found in Zimmer's *Pelagius in Irland*. As yet I have not been able to give these the attention they deserve. I will merely mention at this stage that their author appears

[1] I handed over my complete list to Prof. W. M. Lindsay for his *Notae Latinae* (Cambr. 1915).

[2] In this matter I can fortify my own judgement by that of Dr. P. Lehmann.

[3] If any one thinks that here or elsewhere I am overrating Spanish influence, let him read what Dr. C. H. Turner has recently written in *Early Worcester MSS.* (Oxford, 1916), pp. xi ff. The connexion between Ireland and Spain in matters liturgical was illustrated by E. Bishop, *Journ. Theol. Stud.* viii (1906-7), pp. 278 ff.

to have had some slight knowledge of Greek ; for he once or twice quotes the original. The interpolator may also have written the commentary on Hebrews.

The St. Gall MS. 73 is an anonymous MS., but it is closely related to the Pseudo-Jerome MSS., particularly to those of the second class. This close relationship was first remarked by Hellmann in his *Sedulius Scottus*.[1] The collation of Zimmer is quite valueless for critical purposes. What he gives is on the whole to be relied upon, but there are literally thousands of omissions in his collation, and it has been necessary to make a fresh collation of the entire MS. Its text on the whole surpasses the Pseudo-Jerome MSS. in purity, though it is interpolated from known sources in some of the later epistles, as Zimmer observed. It has the epistles in the familiar order, like the second class of Pseudo-Jerome MSS., and it has a little commentary on Hebrews. It was copied from a neatly written MS. in Irish script, and this Irish MS., not unnaturally, seems to have been copied from a Spanish original. Zimmer was mistaken in supposing that the entry in the old St. Gall catalogue, '*Expositio Pelagii super omnes epistolas Pauli in uolumine I*', is an addition to the original catalogue. That is not so : it is an integral part of the original catalogue. There is, therefore, no reason why we should not assign the MS. to the first half of the ninth century, as the study of its handwriting would suggest. The MS. has the Pelagian *Primum quaeritur*, somewhat mutilated, and the Pelagian prologues to First Timothy and Titus. It has the Marcionite prologues to First Corinthians, Galatians, First Thessalonians and Philemon, and the Pseudo-Marcionite prologues to Second Thessalonians and Second Timothy. Of the remaining epistles, Second Corinthians has the Pseudo-Marcion *plus* the Balliol prologue with some differences, Ephesians has the Marcionite *plus* a portion of Jerome, Philippians has the Marcionite *plus* the Pelagian prologue, Colossians has no preface. The MS. has a partial stichometry, in a somewhat corrupt state, thus :

2 Cor. { DCCCLXX. / LI.
Phil. { CCXV. / CCL.
2 Thess. CXCIII.
1 Tim. CCXXX.
2 Tim. CLXII.
Tit. XCVII.

[1] p. 153.

This stichometry is at once seen to be of a composite character, two totals being given for Second Corinthians and Philippians, or rather, the stichometry of certain epistles has been assigned to others. If the first view be right, each of these alternatives must have been taken from a different authority. To sum up, the St. Gall MS. represents a sort of stage between pure Pelagius and Pseudo-Jerome of the second class, being closely related to the latter. One of the best indications of this relationship is the appearance towards the end of the notes on Philemon of the already mentioned extract from Jerome, *epist.* xxviii, § 4, here also anonymously, and the use of the same prologue to Hebrews, *In primis dicendum est.* It may be remarked that the Pseudo-Jerome text of the former is more accurate than that provided by the St. Gall MS.

Another anonymous MS. of great importance and interest was commented upon in the previous lecture, namely Paris 653,[1] written in North Italy, perhaps at Verona,[2] before the end of the eighth century.[3] This MS. contains, I believe, the whole of the true text of Pelagius' commentary, but it contains a good deal more than that. It includes probably most of the interpolations found in the Pseudo-Jerome MSS., but not all. It has in addition many short comments which are not to be found there, and in particular it has preserved in the body of the commentary six pieces of considerable length not otherwise known.[4] Three of these pieces are from the lost work of Pelagius, *De Libero Arbitrio*, as Professor Loofs pointed out to me, and show Pelagius in controversy with Jerome, the Pelagian extracts being assigned to their author by name. The remaining two pieces, if not actually by Fulgentius of Ruspe, as I at first argued, would appear to belong to his country and time, Africa early in the sixth century. There can be little doubt that the compilation represented in this MS. was made either in Africa or Spain, probably in the sixth century. The readings in the prefatory matter suggest a Spanish connexion, and there are Spanish symptoms in the palaeographical

[1] pp. 429 (= 21) f., 435 (= 27) f.

[2] May this be the MS. that John of Verona saw in the thirteenth century? Cf. Vallarsi's preface to Ps-Hier., reprinted in Migne xxx, and Zimmer, *Pelagius in Irland*, p. 158.

[3] See Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. 471; E. A. Loew, *Studia Palaeographica* (Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Bayer. Akad. der Wiss., Philos.-philol. u. hist. Kl., Jahrg. 1910, 12. Abh.), p. 43, with a plate.

[4] Two of these are published in the appendix to the previous lecture, pp. 437 (= 29) ff., the third Pelagian passage in *Journ. Theol. Stud.* xii (1910–11), pp. 32 ff.; two anonymous passages are printed in *Journ. Theol. Stud.* xiv (1912–13), pp. 481 ff., and xvii (1915–16), pp. 129 ff. respectively; one is unpublished.

sense also in the MS., derived from its *exemplar*. The MS. serves as a useful means of controlling the text of the Reichenau and Balliol MSS.; for its text is in a state of great purity, having escaped the deterioration which one has unfortunately learnt to associate with 'insular' influence. Our ancestors studied texts more ardently than others, but could not keep their pens off them.

The arrangement of the prefatory matter throughout, and of the epistles themselves, will give some idea as to the compiler's procedure. The MS. contains first the Pelagian *Primum quaeritur*, followed by the Marcionite *Romani sunt in parte Italiae : hi praeuenti*, etc., then by the Pelagian *Romani ex Iudaeis*, which is followed by the *Romani sunt in parte Italiae : hi fidem*, etc., a tractate beginning *Verbum caro*, and another prologue to Romans, manufactured out of the *Primum quaeritur* and the *Romani ex Iudaeis* combined, with the expression sometimes recast.[1] Then comes the commentary on Romans, followed by the Marcionite prologue to First Corinthians, and then by the words *Corinthus metropolis est Achaiae ; et idcirco quod Corinthis scribit, Achiuis omnibus scribit*, under the heading *Expositio Argumenti*. After the commentary on First Corinthians comes the Pseudo-Marcionite argument to Second Corinthians, followed by the prologue, printed in the Benedictine edition of Ambrosiaster, which Dom de Bruyne claims for Pelagius.[2] This prologue occurs in the mutilated MSS. of Ambrosiaster at that point, and also in the Balliol MS. of Pelagius. The commentary on Second Corinthians, which comes next, is followed by the Marcionite argument to Galatians and the Pelagian prologue to the same epistle. After the commentary on Galatians comes the Marcionite prologue to Ephesians, then the Pelagian prologue. The commentary on Ephesians is followed by the Marcionite argument to Philippians, followed in its turn by the Pelagian prologue, as introductions to the commentary on Philippians. The commentary on First Thessalonians is introduced by the Marcionite prologue, followed by the Pelagian prologue. Similarly that on Second Thessalonians is introduced by the Pseudo-Marcionite prologue followed by the Pelagian argument. Then Colossians is introduced by the Marcionite and Pelagian prologues, while First and Second Timothy and Titus are introduced by the Pelagian prologues only. In all cases where double prologues are provided, the first is headed by the word *argumentum*, while the second is called *expositio argumenti*. The introduction to the

[1] The two last-mentioned documents are printed in the appendix to the previous lecture, pp. 435 (= 27) ff.; in the second last line on p. 27 *homo* has been accidentally omitted after *appellatione*, and on p. 30, l. 32 read *ais*.

[2] *Revue bénédictine*, xxiv (1907), p. 262.

Philemon commentary is lost. Hebrews begins without any preface, and consists, so far as it survives, mainly of text. The text agrees almost to a letter with that of the *editio minor* of the Vulgate by Professor White, but it suddenly bursts into the good Old-Latin word *indictoaudientia* at chap. ii. 2. I have the complete text of that part, copied by my former pupil, Dr. R. L. G. Ritchie, of the University of Edinburgh, and afterwards revised with the original by myself.

I feel that I ought to be able to answer what is precisely the relation between this remarkable MS. and the Pseudo-Jerome, also what is the precise relation between the two families of Pseudo-Jerome MSS., but I refrain from attempting to do so till the necessary preparation for a judgement has been completed. I will merely mention at this stage one very significant fact, pointed out to me by Mr. A. J. Smith, that the same passage is interpolated twice in the printed text at points not far distant from one another, namely *in Rom.* xi. 17 and 24, the words *Item: Et hoc* down to *insertus es.* The St. Gall MS. and all the MSS. of Pseudo-Jerome give the passage in both places. It is absent from both places in the Reichenau, Balliol, and Paris 653 MSS. Now these places are not contiguous in a vertical sense—otherwise it might be a mere case of the dittography of an interlinear gloss—but they may very well have been contiguous in a lateral intercolumnar sense. This one instance would seem to suggest that St. Gall 73 and all the Pseudo-Jerome MSS. go back to a biblical ancestor in double columns, in which this passage was between the columns, and was thus copied twice. It properly belongs to the first place only.

All that is left of a South-German Latin MS. of the first quarter of the ninth century was discovered at Freiburg im Breisgau in the Stadtarchiv there a year or two ago by Dr. Flamm, and Prof. Heer of Freiburg University kindly sent me photographs of the two conjugate leaves. They contain 1 Cor. ix. 15–20, x. 24–31. It is unfortunately impossible to classify the MS., or to say whether when complete it was a pure Pelagius, or a Pseudo-Jerome, or something different from either. Its text is good, but it does not appear to be closely related to any other document of which I have knowledge.[1]

Three further traces of Pelagius' commentary under his own name have been discovered. Professor Hellmann kindly called my attention to the fact that there was a copy of Pelagius' commentary in the library at Murbach in the middle of the ninth century.[2] It is tempting to

[1] I published the fragments in *Journ. Theol. Stud.* xiii (1911–12), pp. 515 ff.

[2] The item is given in the Murbach catalogue previously mentioned, p. 24, n. 1.

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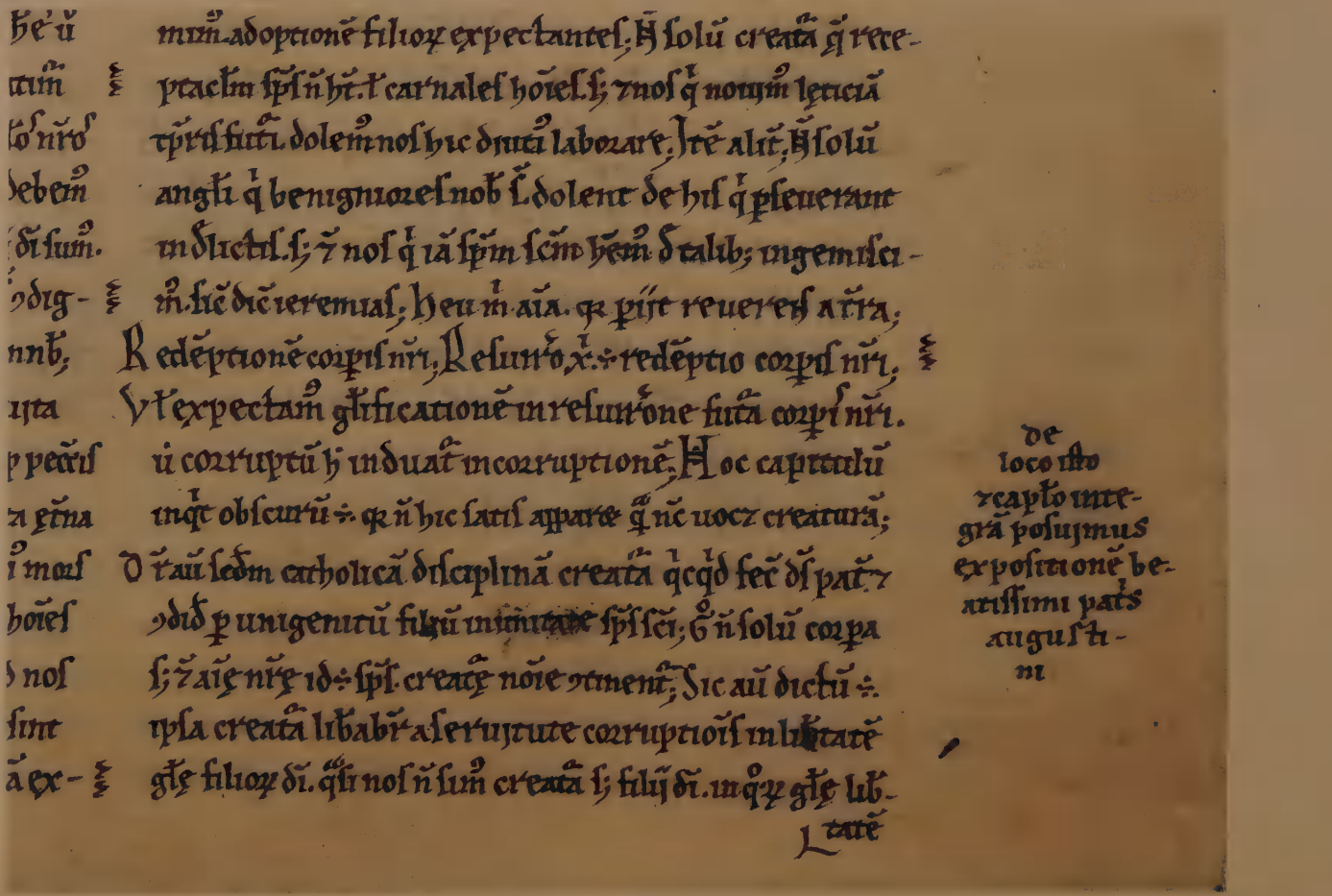

Grenoble (formerly Grande Chartreuse) 270 (saec. xii ex.), lower third of second column of fol. numbered 12r (actually 13r) = Anon. in ep. Rom. viii. 23.

identify the Paris 1853 or Épinal[1] Pseudo-Jerome with that MS. In learned circles, especially those with Irish connexions, the real character of the MS. would be known, even under the name Jerome. Dom Morin also discovered a Bodleian MS. of the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century,[2] where an extract from our commentary on Gal. v. 14 is headed PELAG. To the same scholar is due also the discovery of MS. 6433 (saec. viii–ix) at Munich, in which there are extracts entitled 'Pelagius'.[3]

In the previous lecture it was proved that the commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul, which has been in print since 1537 under the name of Primasius, is none other than the revision of the Pelagius commentary made by Cassiodorus and his pupils[4] at Vivarium in Southern Italy about the middle of the sixth century. Their copy of Pelagius was anonymous: their revised Pelagius remained the same. It has been arranged that an edition of this commentary shall appear in the Vienna *Corpus*, with the Pelagian portions clearly indicated. As a preliminary to that edition I have collated the sole MS. known to me, Grenoble (formerly Grande-Chartreuse) 270, of the latter part of the twelfth century,[5] and also, with the aid of three collaborators,[6] the *editio princeps* of 1537.[7] I have also taken much trouble to trace the non-Pelagian passages to their sources. As a matter of fact, there is very little in the commentary that comes direct from Cassiodorus and his pupils. What is not taken from Pelagius generally comes from Catholic sources.

The *editio princeps* is based on a lost MS. of the abbey of St. Thierry at St. Chef in Dauphiné. The Grande-Chartreuse MS. is not identical with this, as I had at first supposed, but the two MSS. are related as copies of a lost original, and it is probable that the St. Chef MS. was

[1] If we identify the Épinal MS. as the Murbach MS., we might identify the Paris 1853 MS. as the Lorsch MS. referred to by Zimmer, *op. cit.* p. 157. I do not mean to suggest that Paris 1853 was written at Lorsch, especially after Prof. Lindsay's statement that its palaeographical characteristics do not suggest Lorsch, but merely that it may have been in the Lorsch library: Lorsch and Murbach were in close relations, cf. Hauck, *Kirchengesch. Deutschlands*, ii. 593 f., and E. v. Dobschütz, *Das Decretum Gelasianum* (Leipzig, 1912), pp. 142 ff.

[2] Cod. Laud. Misc. 350: *Revue bénédictine*, xxviii (1911), p. 3.

[3] *Revue bénédictine*, xxviii (1911), pp. 420 f.; cf. also p. 9, above.

[4] pp. 428 (= 20) f.

[5] Thanks are due to Monsieur H. Omont, Inspecteur général des Bibliothèques, for permission to reproduce a photograph of part of a page.

[6] Dr. H. A. Gibbons for Rom. i–ii, Prof. W. B. Anderson for Rom. iii–viii, and my youngest brother, J. B. Souter, for Rom. ix to the end of the Epistles.

[7] I have to thank the Dean of Wells for the loan of his (the Hort) copy of this excessively rare book. It is much more accurate than the Migne reprint of De la Bigne.

of about the same date as the other.[1] As both contained a commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, without any sort of warning that it is by a different hand from the rest of the commentaries, and as Professor Riggenbach has proved that this commentary on Hebrews is the work of Haymo, a monk of Auxerre,[2] who flourished in the middle of the ninth century, it is obvious that the common original of our two MSS. cannot be older than that date. Cassiodorus's pupils compiled no commentary on Hebrews; and, just as Alcuin's commentary on that epistle was added to complete the Ambrosiaster, so the anonymous production of Haymo—all the oldest MSS. of Haymo's numerous commentaries are, I think, anonymous—was added to complete this set of commentaries. The Cassiodorian part of the combined commentary may well have been copied in the latter half of the ninth century from the Cassiodorian autograph itself. There is some little reason to suppose that a portion of the Cassiodorian library found its way to Lyons, and I conjecture that it was there that the papyrus *codex* was taken. Some equally venerable volumes are associated with Lyons to this day.[3]

Some words will be expected on the manner of production and the character of the Cassiodorus commentary, but first I might bring forward some further proofs that Cassiodorus and his pupils were the real compilers of this commentary. The vocabulary of the original portions is Cassiodorian: *praedicabilis*, *praesumptio*, *incunctanter*, *criminalis*, *iudicialiter*, *personaliter*, all occur in the Romans part, which is by Cassiodorus himself, and is naturally more original than the rest. One of his pupils was fond of coining compounds with *per*, *percaueo*, *perunio*. The pupil who revised Ephesians was conspicuously anti-Pelagian in opinion, and somewhat independent in his use of sources. It is hazardous to attempt to count the number of pupils that took part in the compilation, but it would seem, to judge by certain differences of treatment, that three at least contributed.

A study of the biblical text and of the sources employed in the commentary confirm the Cassiodorian origin. The prologue to Romans is absent from the MS., but may be a part of the commentary in spite of that fact. It is a combination of the two Pelagian prologues *Primum quaeritur* and *Romani ex Iudaeis gentibusque*. The prologue to 1 Corinthians is the Marcionite *plus* the

[1] Both contained the abbreviation *sub̄* = subauditur.

[2] *Historische Studien zum Hebräerbrief*, i. Teil: *Die ältesten lateinischen Kommentaren zum Hebräerbrief* (= Forschungen z. Gesch. d. ntlichen Kanons u.s.w. hrsg. v. T. Zahn, viii. Teil), (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 41–201.

[3] The MS. of Irenaeus at Grande-Chartreuse was from Lyons (C. H. Turner in *Journ. Theol. Stud.* ii (1900–1), p. 148). See also a suggestion by the present writer in vol. xvi (1914–15), pp. 156 f.

shorter one we have already found in Paris MS. 653, but with slightly different wording. 2 Corinthians is headed by the Pseudo-Marcionite prologue, Galatians has the Marcionite prologue *plus* an adaptation of the Pelagian prologue, Ephesians has the Marcionite *plus* the Pelagian prologue *plus* stichometry ccxlvi (or ccxliii),[1] Philippians has an independent extract from Jerome *plus* the Marcionite *plus* the Pelagian prologue, 1 Thessalonians has the Marcionite prologue, while 2 Thessalonians is without prefatory matter altogether. Colossians begins with the Marcionite *plus* the Pelagian prologue. 1 Timothy has the Pseudo-Marcionite prologue *plus* stichometry ccviiii[2] *plus* the Pelagian prologue; 2 Timothy has the Pseudo-Marcionite *plus* the Pelagian prologue; Titus begins with the Pseudo-Marcionite prologue, which is also, with slight modification, the Pelagian; and Philemon begins with the Marcionite prologue, which was considerably expanded by Pelagius.

The biblical text I have not yet had time to study, but I have had the advantage of the use of a number of notes which Dom John Chapman had made for himself.[3] In order to estimate how Cassiodorus and his pupils handled the text they had before them with the Pelagian commentary, it would be necessary to know exactly what kind of text there was in their Pelagian *codex*. Was it like that in the Balliol MS. and the Roman fragments, or that in the Reichenau MS., or that in Paris MS. 653, or was it a Vulgate text in the sense that the text provided by the St. Gall MS. and the Pseudo-Jerome MSS. is a Vulgate text? Again, can we be sure that a comparison of the Grande-Chartreuse and St. Chef MSS. will give us the text as it left the hands of Cassiodorus and his pupils? Was there no contamination with Vulgate MSS. in the course of transmission?

If we assume that the text has been transmitted in a pure state, we can at any rate make some statements about its surviving character, without prejudging the question how far the Pelagian text was altered to produce the present result. It is natural to compare the Pauline text in this commentary with that provided by the *codex Amiatinus*, the great Northumbrian MS. of the Latin Vulgate, whose connexion with Cassiodorus is admitted. In the first chapter of Romans the two diverge greatly, but in the second chapter the agreement is almost absolute, and this inconstancy of relation is conspicuous throughout. At some stages there is remarkable agreement, at others there is

[1] Probably cccxliii is the right reading, as Berger (*Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 367) gives this number from Cod. Vat. Regin. 9 (saec. vii; Wordsworth and White's R.).

[2] Paris B. N. 9 (saec. xii) has ccviii (Berger, *op. cit.* p. 368).

[3] Cf. his suggestive article in *Revue bénédictine*, xxviii (1911), pp. 285 ff.

distinct disagreement. It would appear, therefore, that no clearly defined textual policy was pursued in this task of revision. On examining the Cassiodorian text at Phil. ii. 12–30 I found that the Pelagian text provided by the Reichenau MS. was much more Vulgate than the text given by Cassiodorus's pupil. It must be remembered that Cassiodorus possessed a great library, and that he himself uses an Old-Latin text in his *Complexiones*.

It is only here and there in the course of the commentary that the authority used is mentioned by name, but many passages silently quoted have been identified. More than any one else Augustine is used, at least eleven of his works being quoted. Jerome also has been employed; at least three of his works are cited. But what is more interesting is that minor authors like Eucherius (*Instructiones*),[1] Tyconius (*Rules*),[2] Claudianus Mamertus (*De Statu Animae*) have been requisitioned. The *quidam sanctus uir* quoted on Rom. iii. 4 is identified by Dom Morin as probably Faustus Reiensis, not, as Garnier[3] argued, Pelagius himself. As these quotations from various authors are carefully made, and must have been taken from copies not later than the middle of the sixth century in date, it is obvious that their readings have an importance both for the classification of the surviving manuscripts and for the textual criticism of these authors. It will not be difficult either to prove, by comparison with the statements of the *Institutio* and with passages in other works of Cassiodorus, that he possessed the quoted works in his library.

Though the commentary of Cassiodorus and his pupils appears to survive in only one manuscript, it was not such an excessive rarity in the ninth century. No less than four compilers of that century made use of it: Claudius of Turin (about 815–20), who quoted it as 'anonymous' on the Epistle to Titus, and uses it elsewhere abundantly as well;[4] Zmaragdus of St. Mihiel (between 805 and 821), who in his

[1] See the six passages in *Journ. Theol. Stud.* xiv (1912–3), pp. 69 ff.

[2] *Journ. Theol. Stud.* xi (1909–10), pp. 562 f.

[3] Cf. Migne, *P. L.* xlviii. 588 A.

[4] Claudius appears to have compiled commentaries on all the Pauline epistles except 1, 2 Thess. and 1, 2 Tim., which are Ambrosiaster, apparently untouched. Most are still unpublished, though early and good MSS. exist in plenty. I get my dates from *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Epist. tom. iv (= Karolini Aevi ii) (Berol. 1895). R. Simon had read his commentaries in the same MSS. as I have consulted, and in part copied; cf. his *Hist. crit. des principaux commentateurs du N.T.* (Amsterdam, 1693), pp. 353 ff. Traces of Cassiod. will be found in Rom. v, xii, Eph. prol., Tit. prol., Philem. prol. The comm. on Titus appears to be identical with that of Hatto of Vercelli, who probably borrowed it from Claudius, as he did Hebrews (cf. Riggenbach, *op. cit.* pp. 25 ff.). There are some seventeen passages of Cassiod. in this comm. on Tit., marked AN (= ANonymus?) in Paris MS. B.N. 10878 (saec. ix).

Expositio Libri Comitis sometimes uses Cassiodorus' commentary,[1] in addition to his frequent use of Pelagius, but never by the name Cassiodorus, always as $\overline{P}$;[2] Haymo of Auxerre, whose frequent use of Cassiodorus doubtless encouraged the combination of Haymo on Hebrews with Cassiodorus on the other epistles, but whom I have detected using Zmaragdus,[3] a fact which complicates investigation; and Sedulius Scottus of Liége, etc. (848 onwards), who, like Zmaragdus, quotes both Pelagius and Cassiodorus, the former as $\overline{P}$, the latter consistently under the name $\overline{\text{ISID}}$, i. e. Isidore. It is right to state that certain other passages attributed to $\overline{\text{ISID}}$ are not to be found in the Cassiodorus commentary, while passages titled $\overline{\text{CAS}}$ appear to be from other works of Cassiodorus.

The value of the Cassiodorian commentary is, as Zimmer recognized, very great as a means of correcting the corruptions of Pseudo-Jerome. For the genuine parts of the Pelagian commentary it appears to be more closely related to the original uninterpolated Pseudo-Jerome type of text than it is to the Reichenau type. This, added to other evidence we have already had, makes it probable that the original Pseudo-Jerome recension appeared in Italy. Cassiodorus himself reproduced his original with some freedom, but his pupils are on the whole extremely faithful to the original Pelagian text, so far as the commentary is concerned. The peculiar character of the Cassiodorian scriptorium makes one view with much more suspicion the form which the Biblical *lemmata* have taken in the Cassiodorian anti-pelagianized Pelagius. The use of two portions of Cassiodorus to fill up gaps in one family of Pseudo-Jerome MSS. has been already alluded to.[4]

The mysterious commentator Luculentius has made some use of the Pelagius commentary.[5]

Zmaragdus of St. Mihiel and Sedulius Scottus, as I have said, used the original Pelagius as well as Cassiodorus: the former also quotes Pseudo-Jerome as $\overline{H}$.[6] Zmaragdus repeatedly quotes from the Pelagian commentary under the symbol $\overline{P}$, and so does Sedulius. Both quote accurately, especially the latter, who is of the greater value in this connexion, the MS. he used having been more like the Reichenau MS. than any other authority we have got. The printed editions of both compilations being unsatisfactory for my purpose, I have found it advisable to collate in the MSS. the marginal symbols indicating the authors from whom passages are borrowed. These are given very

[1] Cf. Cassiod. 601 A = Zmaragd. 449 D (Hellmann, *op. cit.* p. 157).

[2] See *Journ. Theol. Stud.*, ix (1907–8), pp. 584 ff.

[3] In 2 Cor. vi. 5.

[4] p. 25.

[5] See Migne, *P. L.* lxxii. 803 ff. The borrowings are *in Rom.* xii. 6, 8, and possibly elsewhere also.

[6] On Romans and 2 Cor.

imperfectly and inexactly in the editions of Zmaragdus, and are hardly ever given in the editions of Sedulius. The substance of the text is much better represented in the former case than in the latter. I have made collations of the Pelagian extracts in a sufficient number of Zmaragdus MSS. and in the two best MSS. of Sedulius.[1] This is not the place to enumerate the authors employed by Sedulius, but I hope elsewhere to edit the marginal symbols and give a tentative list of his authorities. Zmaragdus tells us in his preface what authorities *he* employed. In estimating the relative value of these two compilers as a means of controlling the evidence of our leading authorities, it is important to remember that the comments of Zmaragdus extend only to certain portions of the Epistles, those in fact which appear in the lectionary for which his exposition is made, while those of Sedulius cover all the Epistles; also, that in the latter case Pelagius is the leading authority employed, a position which he can hardly be said to occupy in the case of Zmaragdus.

Farther down than these compilers I am unable to go. It will have been observed that some of the MSS. of the leading authorities are older than they, and in any case some limit must be set to these researches. They have brought the necessary material for editions both of Pelagius and of Cassiodorus. The edition of the former in *Texts and Studies* will comprise two volumes, the first of which will provide an introduction discussing at length such topics as have been alluded to in this lecture. It will also present a critical edition of the interpolations foisted on the original Pelagian commentary, with cross-references to the second volume, which will contain a critical edition of the Pelagian text with apparatus and indexes. The apparatus will be made as simple as possible, and thousands of variants in my possession, which are only a means of indicating the proper classification of MSS., or of interest to the student of palaeography, mediaeval Latin orthography or grammar, will not appear there, but will be classified in the introduction. The character of the proposed edition of Cassiodorus has been already indicated. It is hoped that both will serve as a sufficiently reliable basis for further investigation.

[1] Bamberg B. v. 24 (saec. xi) and Zürich, Kantonsbibliothek, Rheinau lxxii (saec. x), are in Hellmann's judgement (*op. cit.* p. 193) the best.

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